1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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end of the island, near the white man's capital, where the natives have become more sophisticated, some girls go bush with their lovers and receive only a stick of tobacco in return. News of this has trickled down to Lesu, and the old women there speak scornfully of this new custom and of the cheapening of the girls thereby.[1] Yet husbands are not completely oblivious of the economic significance of their wives' *affaires de cœur*. On one occasion, in the not very distant past, many of the Lesu men went to Tabar, and during their absence the wives had intercourse freely with other men. The women thus collected much *tsera* and gave it to the men when they returned home. The husbands, I am told, were much pleased. One woman told me that her husband himself brought the first lover to her because he wanted the *tsera*, and she did not object. This is the exception, however, rather than the rule. Moreover, the husband in this case, now an old man, is by no means an avaricious or greedy man. Several times he brought me bananas and pawpaws, and refused payment for them, saying they were a gift in return for some tobacco I had previously given him.

No woman is ever taken against her will, and rape by a native is unknown. If a woman does not want to go with a man she merely says "no," giving an excuse or not, as she pleases. Usually she will merely say that she does not feel like it, and that ends the matter.

Although these women are aware of the causal connection between intercourse and birth, they all told me very emphatically that all their children are their husbands'; for, continue the women, after they have had intercourse with their lover they have it the next day with their husband, and this makes all of the children his. Each woman earnestly

[1] In no way can the extra-marital intercourse for payment be considered similar to the prostitution of our civilization. In New Ireland a woman who did not receive the *tsera* from her lover would have lowered herself and be completely without prestige or position in the community.

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and voice. Thus, a man in a low voice and with his eyes cast on the ground (an unusual attitude) would haltingly tell me that he dreamed of having relations with a woman of his own moiety. Other people whom I did not know so well would not admit having such a dream themselves, but said that other people had them. The dream appears to be a clear-cut wish fulfilment. Other dreams of which they are much ashamed are those of intercourse with a pig, or a dog, although the latter does not occur nearly as often as the former. Every man and woman with whom I discussed the subject earnestly said that people never had intercourse with pigs or dogs. There was not a single exception to this statement.[1] The same informants said that intercourse between members of the same moiety was forbidden, but that occasionally it did happen. It is therefore rather interesting that dreams of relationship with pigs and dogs should be put into the same class as incestuous ones, in that they are both considered shameful. A native is ashamed of even dreaming of a pig, even if intercourse is not in the dream.[2]

Other dreams which I was able to collect are as follows (unless otherwise indicated, the dream was collected from both men and women):

That a snake is wound around the dreamer's body and that

[1] However, I heard from other sources, which I was unable to check, that on another part of the island it was not unknown for people to have relations with pigs.

[2] I learned of incestuous dreams and the attitude toward them through informants, but I stumbled across the attitude toward dreams of pigs accidentally. I was frequently awakened at night by the grunts of pigs just outside my house. One morning I told a native friend that I thought I heard the pigs the night before, but I wasn't sure, that maybe I just dreamed that I heard them. At this she looked rather startled, lowered her voice, and said she would tell no one, and that it would be a secret between us. Interested and amused, I drew her on, and found that to dream of pigs was something of which to be ashamed. Other friends and informants soon supported this statement.

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PERVERSION

838 Up to now the more or less normal sexual life has been described and no mention made of any abnormalities or perversions. Practically none of these exist. There is no homosexuality, and they had never heard of such a phenomenon. When I said that such a practice was occasionally found among other peoples, the Lesu people were surprised and rather horrified. Boys and young men are frequently [572] seen walking arm in arm, or with an arm thrown affectionately over a friend's shoulder, but this indicates friendship only. It must be remembered that here there is no restriction on a man showing affection, and that a father fondles a baby as much as the mother does.

839 All informants very emphatically assert that there is no intercourse between human beings and animals—pigs, dogs, birds, phalangers, or any other animal. Yet they take as a matter of course the folk-tales and myths in which frequent mention is made of marriages and sexual intercourse with birds and other animals. (A pig is never featured in this connection, however.) No attempt is made to justify the happenings in the tales or to correlate them with present-day life. Whether the type of intercourse mentioned so frequently in the tales ever took place or not is a matter of conjecture for the ethnologist. Natives insist it does not take place to-day, and that it never has. Women sometimes [231] suckle young pigs just after they are born if the mother pig happens to be away in the bush. This is not considered unusual or in any way abnormal. Karot, of Lesu, nursed a pig while I was there.

Masturbation, not generally considered a perversion in our own society, is practised frequently at Lesu, and regarded as normal behaviour. A woman will masturbate if she is sexually excited and there is no man to satisfy her. A couple may be having intercourse in the same house, or

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near enough for her to see them, and she may thus become aroused. She then sits down and bends her right leg so that her heel presses against her genitalia. Even young girls of about six years may do this quite casually as they sit on the ground. The women and men talk about it freely, and there is no shame attached to it. It is a customary position for women to take, and they learn it in childhood. They never use their hands for manipulation.

I am not so sure of the degree to which masculine masturbation exists. I never witnessed it, and my information on the subject is of a contradictory nature and not thorough enough to be of any value.

It is known that some people like sexual intercourse more than others, but I heard of no one who indulged to such an extent that they might be considered abnormal. One married woman who was supposed to like it excessively was thought "mad." She was unable to talk, and could only make meaningless sounds, having been that way since infancy, and she was not thought to have much understanding. It was her custom to show how much she liked intercourse by putting the index finger of one hand through a circle formed by the thumb and index finger of the other hand. This method of indicating one's desires was considered to be the manner of a "mad" person. There is only one folk-tale about a woman who died from excessive intercourse. Sexual perversion scarcely exists.

LIFE HISTORIES

The following accounts are those of middle-aged and old women (unless otherwise indicated), and are concerned primarily with their sexual life. Other events of their life followed the traditional cultural pattern.

Nunda was born in the hamlet of Penguli, and had the